/231 cont./

761 [784] [684] --In 1952, Dolo (Awara Bakka) dies almost all of a sudden with the symptoms of peritonitis: kunu, punishment for incest committed by another member of the lineage.

--In 1952, Maiɛ̀ndo, ten years old, son of Osaya (Awara Bakka) accidentally drowns: natural accident (ɔ̀gɔ̀ɔ̀ku).

[784] [796] --In 1953, Bɛ́niti (Dju) dies at nearly 75 years of age: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[784] [754] --In 1954, Agyémési (Aw.B.) dies almost all of a sudden: killed by Odun (he was a wisimɛ̀).

--In 1955, Tabiki (Awara Bakka) dies at over 80: natural illness.

[784] [795] --In 1956, Kotoida /sic/ (Afi lineage) dies suddenly, aged about 50: kunu of a yɔ́ɔka.

784 796 --In 1957, F... (Lapé) is gravely ill with symptoms of typhoid: kunu of a Papa gadu.

[753] [761] --In 1957, Sokodo (Dip. II) dies at 40: kunu of a Kɛ̀ntamasu.

/232/ One observes that in the 15 cases cited here, the kunu 75 761 784 interferes ten times, while in three cases natural causes: illness, accident, were assumed.

In reality, the Refugee Blacks do not have the conception 772 of a natural world, subject to known or knowable laws, which is set against a supernatural world. The intervention of a Papa gadu is neither more nor less natural than an illness or an accident. There is only, on the plane of human life, more or less frequent intervention by suprahuman forces. 812 The intervention of these forces is made according to laws which embrace the totality of beings and things, laws which men cannot understand but of which they believe they have a partial and empirical knowledge.

/232 cont./

75 784 776 It is important not to confuse the kunu with the sufferings which other divinities can arbitrarily make men undergo. The kunu has a systematic character. But a divinity theoretically beneficent, and which has come into a man after being called on, may also from time to time bring misfortunes if such is its whim of the moment.

752 776 784 [787] [428] In 1949, G... (Dju) was busy cooking a crab in the house of his mother D... A machete which was fastened to the wall suddenly detached itself and wounded him in the right hand. Now his mother had an Ampuku which had imposed the crab on her as kina. This Ampuku, immediately called on, revealed that it really was it which had struck G..., for it did not like to see D...'s son eat crab (note that G... was not at all held to the observance of this kina, for no kina is transmitted from mother to son).

784 775 613 769 Neither must the kunu exercised by a yɔrka be confused with the vengeance that a dead person can exercise against the members of his own lineage in order to punish them for having neglected their duties.

Punishment inflicted by an ancestor of the lineage seems for the Boni to be a notion distinct from that of the kunu. Vengeance exercised by a yɔrka upon its own lineage is regarded as exceptional and devoid of the inexorable and definitive character of the kunu, but they assume it to be [762] possible. They cited to us the case of Yali (Loka), who [763] committed suicide when accused of sorcery by the people of his lineage. Since then, his yɔrka has caused sicknesses [761] and deaths in his own village.

776 784 613 [761] Conversely, a god which exercises the kunu upon a lineage may in certain cases intervene in favor of this lineage if such is its whim of the moment. Thus the death of Diamanti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village, † in 1955) is attributed to the god which exercises the kunu on the village of L'Enfant Perdu and whose bearer was Pééchina. Diamanti had wronged someone of this village and the god had intervened against her.

/232 cont./

In a general way, they consider that the bearer of a god exercising the kunu has nothing to fear from it personally if he rigorously observes the kina which have been imposed upon him. On the other hand, this god will punish any injury to its bearer. Thus these bearers (almost always old women) live surrounded by respect and fear.

/233/ Observations in January, 1958 (misfortunes attributed to vengeance of ancestors on their own lineage).

Do (Lapé) is taken ill on January 7, 1958 with a violent attack of dysentery. The same day his five-year-old son is grievously hurt at the wharf by falling on a broken bottle. Alarmed by this coincidence, the members of the Lapé lo assemble and proceed to question a possessed person. The latter reveals that it is the doing of an old woman of the lineage, Atala, dead for two years. Several lineage members have already been sick from this; the dead woman wanted to sanction offenses committed by the people of the lineage.

The same day in Boniville, Klémenti (Dju), to whom I am recounting this affair, tells me that before the lifting of mourning for his mother Béniti, he and his sisters were sick. Divination showed that it was the doing of Béniti, who wished to hasten the celebration of the ceremony.

The kunu and social peace among the Boni. Role of the grand man. The kunu exercised by a yɔrka creates very strange relations among the Boni lineages. As blind and arbitrary as the vengeance attributed to the yɔrka may be, the Boni have the sense of the legal unity of the lineage too much for any resentment to exist: "They are killing our family..."; and yet the two lineages find themselves henceforth irreparably bound together. The victims of the kunu can no longer get along without people of the lineage of the yɔrka which pursues them with its vengeance, since they alone, by their prayers, can appease temporarily the anger of their ancestor. One conceives of the